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ARMENIAN RIGHTS
COUNCIL OF AMERICA

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275 Mt. Auburn Street, Watertown, Mass. 02172

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October 31, 1983

President Ronald Reagan,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

184312

Dear President Reagan:

It is a crushing feeling to be the most powerful human being on earth. Your responsibilities are beyond imagination, your burdens crushingly heavy and, needless to say, like all Americans, you have the heartfelt prayers and unreserved support of American Armenians.

But please, Mr. President, do not permit the defeat of the ideal on which our beloved country is founded. Justice, human rights, freedom and truth have been the overpowering forces which attracted our forebears to seek a new life in America. We have toiled far and hard in attaining the proud label "Loyal Americans" and, next to the Bible, our citizenship paper is the most worshiped document we all cherish.

Do not blame, Mr. President, the American Armenians who are weary, stung and frustrated by your glossing over the Armenian genocide of 1915 as only a "terrible trouble" during your recent press conference for ethnic publications. It was not "terrible trouble," Mr. President, it was the first genocide of the 20th century, with all its misery, bloodshed, and the two million dead or deported. The documents are there, proof easily accessible, including Congressional hearings and statements of all US presidents since 1915.

Regardless of the sanctity of our objectives and the validity of our cause, no thinking American Armenian wants to be linked with errorism and violence. This will be too ugly a curse and too heavy a burden for Armenians, who were the first nation to have accepted the one body, one spirit, one Lord, one faith, and one God, and who, with so much suffering, hard work and sacrifice, defied the laws of survival and succeeded in proving that it is possible to overcome all challenges, including genocide.

In all your press conferences, speeches, weekly radio talks and television appearances, you have championed the cause of justice, human rights, reason and truth, always emphasizing the unacceptability of terrorism and force. Not only do we subscribe to all these, Mr. President, but with one accord generously offer our denunciation of terrorism to achieve our objectives. We embrace your counsel that we, Turks and Armenians, "ought to sit down and work out our differences."

11/20/83

D.M. Curran

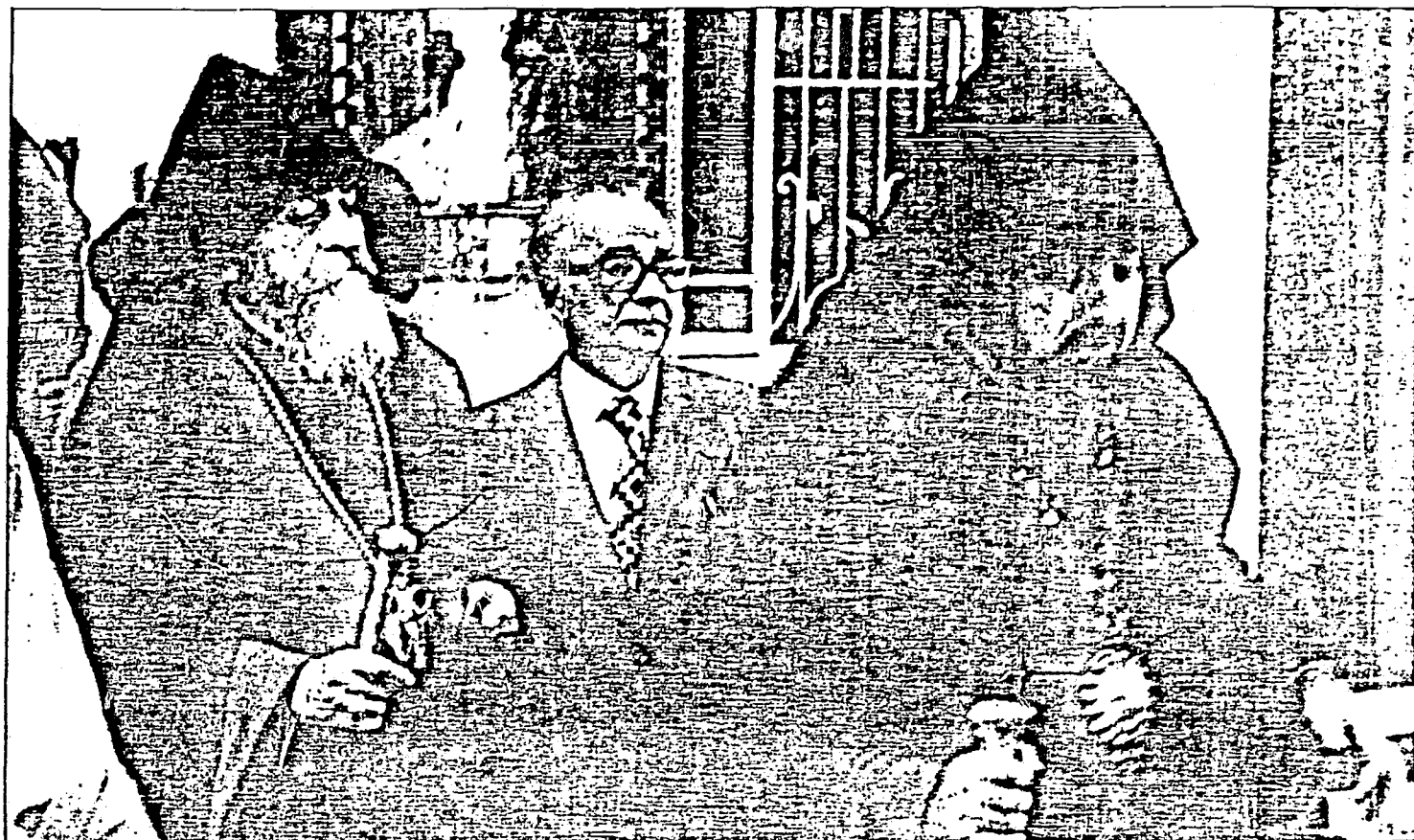
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The Turk, however, refuses to heed your call. The Turkish government is engaged in distorting history, the Turkish embassy in Washington is busy in using its US aid dollars to persuade Senators, Congressmen, the State Department, and state governors that the genocide is the figment of our imagination, and Ankara is engaged in burdening the desks of every American official, college president, high school principal and libraries all over our land with tons of books, leaflets and "documents" painting Armenians as terrorists and their rights and demands as non-existent.

Respectfully,

Hubar Dorian, Chairman,
Armenian Rights Council of America

**THIS MICROFICHE HAS BEEN
PRODUCED FROM THE BEST
AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS**



Catholicos Khoren I (left) and Coadjutor Karekine II examine damage in Armenian church after recent clashes in Beirut

PICKING UP THE PIECES

Armenians - last haven lost?

Lebanon's 200,000-strong Armenian community managed to adopt a neutral stand during the two-year civil war, but apparently that was not good enough for the rightwing Christian forces. *John Munro* looks at the terror campaign being waged against the Armenians, the options open to this educated and versatile community, and the significance of the Armenian Secret Army.

Another page has recently been added to the long and frequently tragic history of the Armenians, this time in Lebanon which was for many years recognised as a refuge for dispossessed minorities.

At the beginning of the Lebanese civil war the Armenian community in Lebanon occupied a favoured position. The Armenian language was taught in approximately 70 schools and at one university, Haigazian College, the only four-year Armenian college in the diaspora. Beirut had four Armenian-language newspapers and approximately 20 magazines, there was a flourishing Armenian theatre and Armenians prayed in hundreds of Armenian Gregorian, Catholic and Evangelical churches. Moreover, the 200,000-strong community had the right to elect five deputies to the 99-seat Lebanese parliament.

Armenians played a vital role in Lebanon's work force, being especially active in occupations requiring sophisticated manual skills: metal working,

dental and hospital technology, photography, printing and design. Additionally, Armenian women were well represented in secretarial and office work, and overwhelmingly in nursing. Armenians also occupied important positions in banking and commerce, and were especially well represented in the professions of engineering and pharmacy. In 1975 the annual *per caput* income of Lebanese Armenians was \$2,740, well above the national average, Armenians owned at least 25 per cent of the total of savings and time deposits in Lebanon's banks and they transacted 25 per cent of Beirut's gold-market operations.

Since 1975 the fortunes of Lebanon's Armenian community have steadily declined. Their main centre is Bourj Hamoud, a suburb of east Beirut located next to the mainly Muslim suburb of Naba - an area of intense fighting during the civil war. During that period several Armenians were killed or wounded, and many had their

business premises destroyed, especially those engaged in activities related to Beirut's gold and jewellery souq which was heavily damaged.

However, unlike other Lebanese groups, the Armenians refused to be drawn into sectarian conflict, maintaining a policy of "positive neutrality". They subscribed to two basic principles: Lebanon could not survive as a nation unless it maintained brotherly relations with other Arab states, and peaceful dialogue was the only way to resolve the country's problems. Implicit in this policy was total support for the Lebanese state and a refusal to support any religious or political faction - though a number of Armenians did join Pierre Gemayel's Christian right-wing Phalangist Party on an individual basis.

By insisting on their role of "positive neutrality," the Armenians risked antagonising Rightist Christian forces. The Christians maintained, with some justification, that the very reason the

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Armenian Secret Army members at Beirut press conference: goal is to liberate Armenia for return of diaspora

Armenians had been given Lebanese nationality by the French Government, which had mandatory authority over the country until 1945, was that the introduction of large numbers of Christians would reinforce the traditional Maronite authority. Therefore, the Armenians had a duty to take up arms on behalf of the Christian brothers against the Muslims.

However, humane considerations aside, the Armenian leadership recognised that involvement in the civil war would probably lead to the disintegration of the Armenian community. The community was in fact deeply divided. Not only does Lebanon have Armenian Catholics, Protestants and Gregorians – the first two groups generally looking westward, the latter eastwards – but

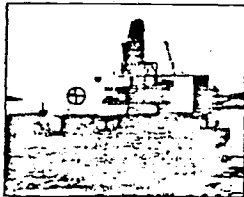
the Gregorians themselves are split into those who acknowledge the apostolic authority of Cilicia and those who acknowledge that of Etchmiadzin, a conflict that came to a head in 1958 over the succession to the Lebanese see of Antelias.

Significant, though less influential than the church, are the Armenian-Lebanese political parties, the Tashnag, the Hunchag and the Ramgavar, all of which subscribe to a generally socialist platform, yet differ in various ways. The Tashnag, easily the largest, acknowledges in a general way the necessity of regaining the Armenian homeland but is much more involved in Lebanese politics than the other two. Its policy generally leads it to support whatever government is in power. The Hunchag on the other hand, is Marxist-oriented, and the Ramgavar, though anti-Marxist, favours the consolidation of ties between Soviet Armenia and the Lebanese Armenians.

Until January 1978 the Armenians were not molested by anyone, and in fact made themselves useful to both sides by transporting much-needed food, medicine and motor fuel. On 7 January 1978, however, Dory Chamoun, son of the Christian National Liberal Party's leader, former President Camille Chamoun, made a statement to the French-language magazine *Revue du Liban* complaining of the Armenians' "irresponsibility" and lack of patriotism.

This statement was followed by others, and soon a campaign of threat and intimidation was under way. Armenian shopkeepers and owners of businesses were forced to pay increasing amounts of money to support the Rightist cause, found that their cars and business premises were liable to be dynamited if they refused. Armenians who complained were told that those to blame were "unruly elements" sheltering

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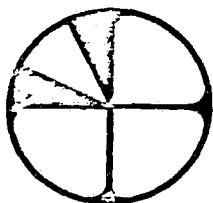
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behind the militias, or foreign agents trying to weaken relations between the right-wing Christian and Armenian communities.

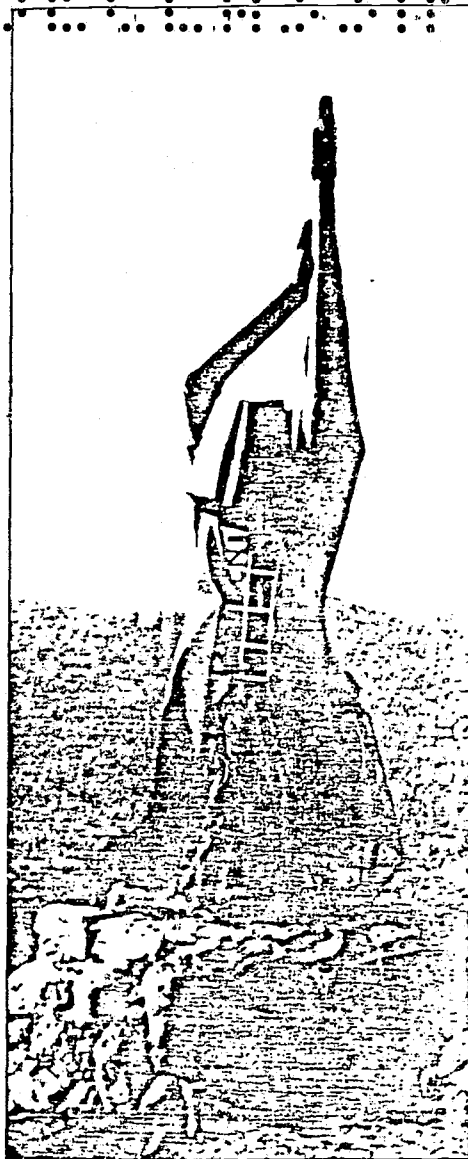
In July 1978 the situation worsened, when the Rightist militias and the Arab, mainly Syrian, Deterrent Forces disputed control of the bridges over the Beirut River. The Armenian religious leaders Catholicos Khoren I and Coadjutor Karekine II, accompanied by Armenian deputies, visited the President of the Lebanese Republic, Elias Sarkis, Prime Minister Salim al-Hoss, Camille Chamoun and other political notables in an effort to defuse a potentially dangerous situation. For a time it seemed that their efforts had been successful, but Rightist Christian resentment continued.

Although the threats and intimidation continued, there was no overt attack on the Armenian community as a whole until after the short-lived cease-fire of 30 September which brought fighting between the Rightists and the Syrian forces to a temporary halt. Then on 2 October, Rightist militiamen made a surprise attack on Syrian positions, which involved heavy destruction and several casualties among the Armenians who were caught in between. The following day the Rightists made another attack on the Syrians from Bourj Hamoud. This time the Armenians' own armed militias made a spirited attempt to prevent them, which resulted in several dead and wounded on both sides.

On 5 October, some 150 Rightist militiamen gathered in Bourj Hamoud, and their leaders told the Armenian community that there would be another attack for control of the bridges that day. In spite of Armenian protests the Rightists brought in tanks and artillery but again failed to take the bridges, and this time there was deliberate destruction and looting of Armenian property.

Three days later Rightists attacked the Bzommar Armenian Catholic convent near Harissa, which was being used as a refuge by displaced Armenian families. Phalangist leader Pierre Gemayel went to Bzommar to apologise, again blaming "irresponsible" elements. But the following day leaflets were circulated stating that the reason for the Rightists' failure to capture the bridges was that the Armenians had "stabbed them in the back". Finally, on 26 October, the monument commemorating the Armenocide of 1915, situated some distance below Pierre Gemayel's mountain-village home of Bikfaya, was damaged. This prompted another visit by Gemayel and his son Amin to Catholicos Khoren to apologise for this "tragic and sorrowful act", which they said was the work of foreign hands who wished to poison relations between the Rightists and the Armenian community.

An uneasy truce now prevails as the Armenians decide whether to pick up the pieces of their shattered lives or to emigrate. The majority of the estimated 10,000 who left their homes to escape the destruction



Armenian gratitude memorial to Lebanon blown up by Rightists

have now returned, but several hundred have not. Lebanese deputy Khatchig Babikian, President of the newly formed National Committee, states that the recent incidents left 65 of their community dead and more than 500 wounded, approximately 300 large buildings destroyed and more than a hundred small workshops and several medium-sized factories put out of operation.

Many Armenians have in fact decided to emigrate. His Holiness Karekine II has stated that the actual number of Armenians who have left Lebanon recently, or are leaving, is no more than 15 to 16 thousand, a figure proportionate to that of emigrants from other communities, but others insist that the real figure is much higher.

The most favoured destination for emigrating Armenians is the United States, where there already exists a relatively powerful and prosperous Armenian community.

The Armenians have established a number of organisations such as the

Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), the Jinishian Foundation and the Karageuzian Foundation. Recently, the activities of these various bodies were co-ordinated under the umbrella of the Armenian Assembly, based in Washington.

One result of these activities was that the United States Agency for International Development (US-AID) gave half a million dollars for relief and reconstruction of predominantly Armenian areas of Lebanon devastated in the civil war.

Soviet Armenians are also expressing disquiet. In November 1978 there was a demonstration on behalf of Lebanese Armenians in Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia, where it was rumoured that a campaign of genocide was under way. Additionally, the pro-Soviet Armenian magazine *Spurk*, which is widely circulated among Armenians in the Diaspora, announced that the Soviet Union was gravely concerned about the fate of Lebanese Armenians and would take positive steps to ensure their safety.

Dr Zori Balayan was despatched to Beirut by the Vice-President of Soviet Armenia on a fact-finding mission but after spending several days in Lebanon he concluded that there was no immediate danger to the community as a whole and returned home, promising aid for those who had suffered as a result of the fighting.

One group that has kept silent is the Beirut-based Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, which claimed responsibility for bombings in Ankara and Istanbul and more recently for the assassination of the Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican. The Secret Army held a press conference in Beirut on 9 November 1978 at which four youths appeared with their faces covered by stocking masks and criticised the American CIA, Turkish Intelligence and the World Council of Churches, whose Beirut offices they bombed on 20 January 1975 for encouraging Armenian emigration to the United States. Ultimately, the group states, their ambition is to overthrow the "fascist" Turkish nation and regain the Armenian homeland. Although avowedly Marxist-oriented, the Secret Army has attacked the Soviet Union for its oppression of the Armenians. Observers in Beirut suggest that the group is probably an offshoot of the Lebanese Tashnag, made up of a handful of young disenchanted militants.

Although no firm evidence exists of the Secret Army's connection with the Paris-based organisation Armenian Struggle, it is likely that their activities find covert favour with them, as the French group's magazine *Hye Baïkar* has not ruled out violence in pursuit of the Armenian cause. Certainly a number of European Armenians still retain hope of re-establishing the Armenian homeland in eastern Turkey and Cilicia, as the recently published book *Back to the World of Ararat* by Swiss pastor James Karmozian testifies. □

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Weekly

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SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1977

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TURKISH PAPERS REPORT ON LATEST ASSASSINATION

The assassination of the Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican, Taha Carim, is still being covered in Turkish newspapers.

Hurriet, *Terjuman* and *Gunayden* devoted large spaces to reports received from Rome.

The June 13 issue of *Hurriet* reports that the Soviet Union knew six months ago that an attempt would be made to assassinate the Turkish Ambassador of Rome. They had informed the Turkish authorities at that time and had labeled their source as "very dependable".

Carlucci, the ass't-director, of the criminal department of the Italian police made the following statement to *Hurriet*:

The assassination of the Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican has been carried out by the same organization which killed the Turkish Ambassadors of Vienna and Paris. The weapon used was a 9 mm. Browning revolver. The assassin is a highly trained person.

When asked whether an Armenian

immediately.

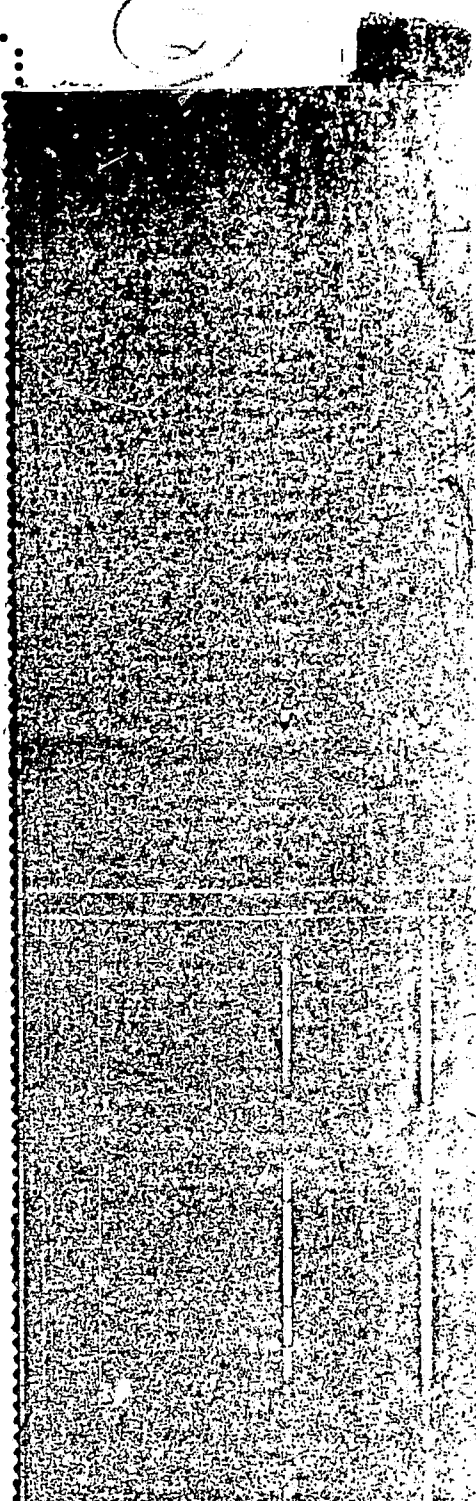
The Italian police have not released any information about the weapon, a 9 mm. automatic revolver on which was inscribed Tons—MT 978.

Hurriet continues:

The owner of the bar, Alberto, said to the police that all his customers were familiar to him and that he has seen no strangers within the past few days. 'All our customers speak Italian; there are some who speak a broken Italian but I cannot distinguish them'.

Yesterday [June 12], Pope Paul VI, during religious ceremonies in the Vatican, spoke with deep emotions about what he called the odious assassination of the great Turkish Ambassador by lawless Armenians. He denigrated the unidentified murderer and cried from his sorrow, 'On our peaceful lands, a heinous crime has been committed. We are in great pain.'

According to the June 13 issue of *Terjuman*, Zaven Orfalian, an Armenian student, made the following statement



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4—THE ARMENIAN WEEKLY

NEWSPAPERS

FROM PAGE 1, COL. 4

according to experts following the situation, the assassins also receive additional support. In the last months, an idea prevails that US and European-based Greeks, financially and by hiding the perpetrators, assist in the commission of these actions. Foreign security officials, inasmuch as they lack evidence yet, believe that, in addition to the Greek support, there are other organizations which by various means aid the Armenian terrorists. This belief came from the fact that, in the last year with an uncharacteristic speed, brochures, books and flyers were published and, that during demonstrations, large donations were collected not only from Armenians, but non-Armenians as well as from governments, such as the US, England, France and some Arab countries.

European Police Does Not Try Hard Enough

Assassinations committed in Europe are not investigated thoroughly by the European police, who, thus aid the perpetrating organizations. A French expert, commenting on the police laxity and lack of interest, as proof said: "To discover the responsible persons for the murders of the Turkish diplomats, the European police have done practically nothing." He continues, "In Paris, an explosion took place at the Armenian Cultural Home and flyers were found. If the investigation was carried further, the events would be explained. As it

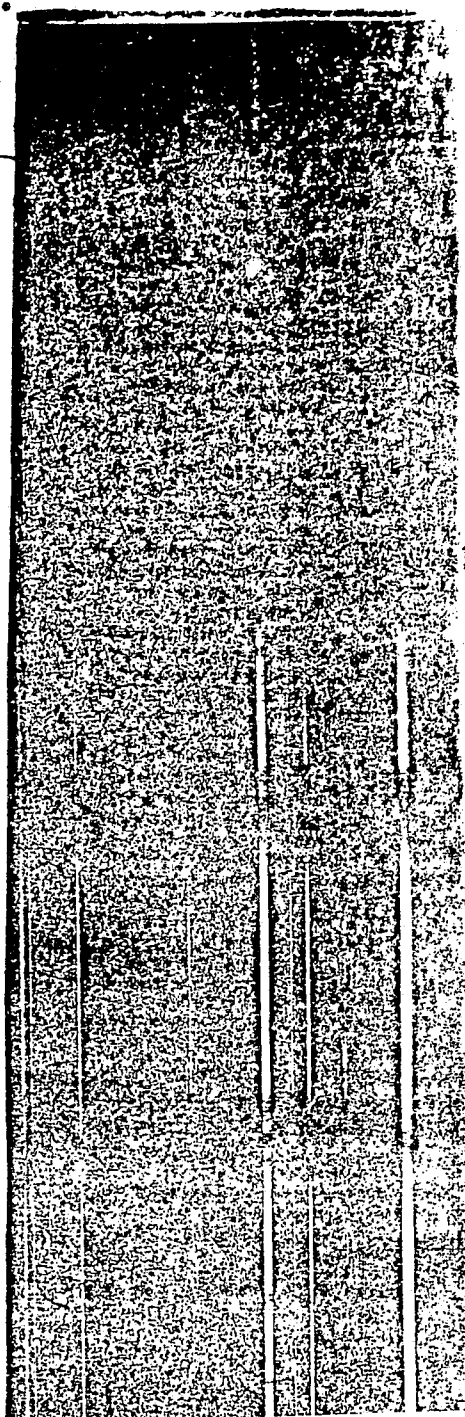
ians, who have, according to Turkish government officials, "murdered hundreds of thousands of Turks in 1915", can assassinate three Turkish Ambassadors in Europe in 1975-1977.

Perhaps, the Turkish notion that Armenians hire others to do their dirty work comes from Turkish experience. All the Turks have to recall is that during the 1915 massacres of the Armenians, Talaat, Enver, and the others, had hired common criminals, Kurdish tribes, and others, to do some of their bloody work. Going further back into history, this Turkish tradition of hiring others to carry out their grand designs is proven by their formation of the Janissary troops. Here, by taking from their homes, young Armenians, Circassians, Greeks, and other Balkan minority peoples, Islamizing them, and training them in the arts of war, they transformed these Christian youngsters into a formidable Moslem shock troop force. They, of course, fought for the Ottoman Turkish Empire's benefit.

On an other dimension, do the Turks believe that Tehlirian, Yerganian, Shiragian, and other 1915 avengers, were "hired mercenaries"? How do they explain their existence and their deeds? Maybe the Turks do not remember 1920, 1921 and 1922. Perhaps, they do not wish to.

Returning to article, "assistance to Armenians comes from not only Greeks but from foreign governments..."

This statement is so ludicrous that we



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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1975

Price 2

EDITORIAL

Funding the Armenian Revolution

Consignment of the center pages section of this issue wholly to a graphic appeal for public support of the National Fund Drive of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation emphasizes decisively the total commitment of this publication to that effort.

Indeed, the idealistic and practical goals of the Drive, effectively developed in the appeal, reflect philosophies and purposes long broached by this newspaper.

The duty of Armenian Americans to contribute to America those values, virtues and qualities which have long made the Armenians a unique and durable people has been a constant theme of this paper; and we have often expressed just pride in what we Armenians have already given America.

And we have as often spoken of the similarities between both the Armenian and American creeds and the characters of the two nations, something which has brought on the Armenians recognition as "The Yankees of the Near East."

At the same time, we have pointed out that in the course of the fulfillment of our citizenship duties to the United States, we must not forget that we have still another distinct duty—to practice our heritage. For this our America lately rediscovered the truth that the practice and acknowledgment of ethnicity is intimately connected with the cultural and social flourishing, and even the good health, of America—this nation of nations!

Remarkably enough, there are few areas of conflict between service both to America and to our heritage simply because the basic goals and the ideals of Americans and Armenians are one and the same. Both peoples are dedicated traditionally and enthusiastically to the pursuit of total freedom, to the exercise of human, civil and political rights, to justice and to self-sovereignty.

SEE PAGE 2, COLUMNS 1-2

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

The center section (pp. 2-3) of this issue is devoted to materials prepared by the ARF National Fund Drive Committee. Both the publication of that supplement and our customary editorial statement signify the organ's warm support of that Fund Drive.

Abp. Visits Johannesburg, Says First Arm. Mass in S. Africa

NEW YORK CITY — Johannesburg was the site of two historic firsts for the country of South Africa during the past few weeks. The first was the unprecedented installation of the first black bishop in the Diocese of the great Anglican Cathedral of Johannesburg.

The impressive ceremonies held in the Cathedral itself were presided over by the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Rt. Rev. Timothy Egan, and were attended by over 2,000 persons, among whom were many church and civic leaders and the Mayor of Johannesburg.

The impressive ceremonies held in the Cathedral itself were presided over by the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Rt. Rev. Timothy Egan, and were attended by over 2,000 persons, among whom were many church and civic leaders and the Mayor of Johannesburg.

New Jersey Pushes Armenian Studies at Rutgers

HOUSE-SENATE APPROVE 'PARTIAL LIFTING' OF EMBARGO ON ARMS TO TURKEY; TURKS DEMUR ON

House Reverses Itself 237-176 Under Pressure

(N.Y. Times, Oct. 3)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 2—The House of Representatives voted tonight to reverse itself and ease the eight-month arms embargo against Turkey.

The bill was passed by a vote of 237 to 176.

The bill now goes back to the Senate, which passed it earlier. The Senate can either accept the change made by the House or send the legislation to a Senate-House conference.

A number of House members who had voted July 24 to defeat a similar bill maintained that they were switching in support of the Administration tonight, because the embargo's aim of encouraging a Turkish-Greek settlement of the Cyprus situation has been unsuccessful.

In a key preliminary vote won by the Administration, the House rejected 229 to 187, an amendment by pro-Greek representatives that would have delayed the resumption of weapons deliveries to Turkey until the President verified that "significant progress" had been made toward solving the problem of 180,000 refugees in Cyprus.

Supporters of the amendment, such as Representative Benjamin S. Rosen, a Democrat of Queens, maintained that their proposal would give "great

SEE PAGE 3, COL. 3

Few Senators Present as Vote is Taken

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Senate today gave final measure, partly lifting against the shipment of arms to Turkey.

With only a few Senators on a voice vote to go, and send it to the White House for President Ford's signature of Representatives approved last night. (See also Oct. 2.) The Senate accepted a measure introduced in the House by Charles Rangel, called "discuss with Turkey" caused by Turkey's resumption of its expansion of its military effort.

The White House limit that it would seek negotiations on the issue of military bases in Turkey, but in Ankara, a foreign minister said that "would not be allowed again immediately."

According to the White House, the way had been "clearly a major effort to encourage the Cyprus negotiations to facilitate progress by the United States, Greece, Turkey, and a peaceful settlement of this dispute. Ford said he would convene the legislation submit to Congress with reports on the progress toward a Cyprus

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Editorials

Funding the Armenian Revolution

FROM PAGE 2 COLUMN 1

It is then our responsibility as citizens of Armenia to speak up forcefully against any attempt by this nation's leadership to embark on a course of action (as for instance, the present Administration's insistence on the renewal of Turkish aid) which is diametrically at odds with the basic and fundamental tenets of both the American and the Armenian—that no aggressor, tyrant or brute shall enjoy the friendship and trust of men of goodwill.

We Armenians have still a third duty, and that is to remind the Armenian American himself of his responsibilities directly to the fate of his ancestral nation. If the Armenian Revolution in terms of its political aspirations is terminated, the Armenian Revolution is still being fought. If the objective of the American War of the Revolution was to free the Colonies of this rule of oppression, unite them into common nationhood and forge therefore an independent State, then too the Armenians must rally for the purpose of the unity, freedom and independence of their historical Armenian State, as the goal of the unfinished Armenian Revolution.

Revolutions are fought in many ways. The battlefield, diplomacy, on the streets, even the written and spoken word, are not the inevitable milieu of struggle. Revolutions are best fought, said Mirabeau in the context of the conditions which brought about the need for revolt. If there is a tyrant, a Louis, to be toppled, then the revolution must take a course of action to that end. The prosecution of the Armenian Revolution at this stage calls for steps unique in its own terms. Because it is being fought not on the homeland, but from abroad by a nation dispersed round the globe, the first and most compelling thing that must be done is to preserve this scattered army of people, to keep them so to speak under arms, awaiting the call, as Washington held together his army at Valley Forge during that grim winter of discontent.

The Armenian leadership cadres abroad, most importantly the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, must provide the scattered communities the sinews of the struggle. All those institutions and inspirations which have come together to bring about the preservation of the nation in the past must be made available to the Armenians abroad. Channels of information and communication must be strengthened, that is, a vigorous Armenian press must service the people. There must be dedicated and active national and local organizations. Unrelenting campaigns of Armenian Cause activities must be continually underway, thus uniting the dispersed people in the common purpose of the Revolution. There must be close attention to the needs of the youth. There must then be available those tools which are needed to fight the Armenian Revolution under those circumstances which we indeed must exploit.

Enormous changes are underway in the very lifestyle of the Armenian American community. The mass Armenian experience with the United States is now approaching its third generation, and the Armenian qualities, at long last unfettered by the immigrant need to tend to ones most basic needs, given the free rein of America, have started to assert themselves in many remarkable ways.

We have today an ever-growingly educated generation of youth; we have scores of professional people and multitudes of talented craftsmen and tradespeople; we have, some say, about 100 millionaires—businessmen, industrialists, bankers and brokers. Generally, a sense of affluence has set in on our community.

In other words, in terms of the American immigrant experience, the Armenian community has come of age. The matter of self-preservation in other climes is only part of the community effort today. In its new state of well-being, in its fund of talent, in its activist youth, the community is now ready to contribute enormously to the struggle to solve

VARIED ACTIVITIES IN N.J.

FROM PAGE 2 COLUMN 4

action class will be assigned to school districts for the purpose of encouraging the inclusion of ethnic studies.

According to the education charter, "A fair and equal opportunity for every child, 5-12 regardless of race, the education of all children, therefore, the children of a particular ethnic group, whose history and cultural maintenance is not included in the curriculum, must receive such education. The Armenians have been selected as one of the ethnic groups to be cultivated by these pilot projects, and 5 groups totaling 40 students of the community action class have been assigned to approximately a number of school districts in the state to enforce the inclusion of Armenian studies and other ethnic studies. To date, approximately \$100,000.00 in grants have been received by Rutgers for ethnic studies. A film is also planned by Rutgers to demonstrate "cultural maintenance" of ethnic groups and it is expected that the Armenians will be part of the project. The film will be distributed to school systems and for teacher use, a related hand book will be available with the film to illustrate further the ethnic groups' history and their cultural maintenance here in the United States.

Educators have expressed their endorsement of these projects stating that "children want to know about their own heritage so that they may contribute in their unique way. This awareness gives them stability, and it also allows for their classmates to become familiar with their fellow students' backgrounds, and it stimulates their own self-esteem."

The goal of the Armenian National Committee is the recording of accurate Armenian history in the history texts of the American school systems at all levels.

The Armenian National Committee is planning to hold a seminar in November to inform the community as to how they may assist in these community action programs in their areas; to invite committee participation in Bicentennial projects arranged for by the State for ethnic groups to prepare for an "Armenian Week" at which time all Armenian Churches will be requested to be open for tours for students from the local schools, with special Armenian folklore performances available, and the week concluded with an Armenian Bicentennial Ball given by each community; the seminar will also develop a committee to prepare for an "Armenian Festival" to be given at the Garden State Arts Center in Holmdel, N.J.

Miss Marilyn... of the Armenian... stated... deficit in realizing... comes by this... ethnic in these... what we be... our concerns... it makes our... cause there is... and what an Ar... she went on to... that there are... groups who wo... tory distorted... a central that... At... with fidel... weaken our pos... Various Ar... have been activ... the Armenian... At the Teen-Ar... Cultural Se... displayed Arme... Teen-Arts Festi... long festival w... ing from all ove... of 3,000 to 4,000... Mr. Garo Der... of the New Jer... Society, and M... attending the fe... a great opportu... now involve m... and enlarge ou... performances."

The Nayiri... performing Ar... the International... Rutgers. The de... expert direction... lan; gives the... dimension. The... Society's Choral... Jersey Choral... of Armen Bab... ing for the Edu... nial program a... grams.

Union City... the area in... Armenians can... numbers, durin... noxious. The... Church in Union... Armenian Apoc... be established... and it is still m... Armenian com... 18th Cross Ch... 75th anniversary... In that same... Protestant com... ed the Armenia... in 1927 in Wes... fice has been... group in the... Armenians have... the Bicentennia... rested in record... Armenian Co... S

the Armenian Cause in our day.

The ARF National Fund Drive accepts all this. It says that money is needed to mount this struggle, execution of which rests the fate of the Armenian, that the community must be given the muscle of the patriotic Armenian press, the Hairenik, special that funding which will allow for the expanding of community and to the Cause—that the press keeps our scattered nation together. And it says, with that the needs of the youth have grown and must order to ensure the future of the nation.

The statement of purpose of the American... fectively be paraphrased in terms of the National...

the ARMENIAN WEEKLY

James H. Tadajian, Editor

Gulf Area

BY LEVON KIRKORIAN

KUWAIT — Very little is known about the Armenian communities in this area, namely the Arab states on the Gulf. The name of the Gulf for the Arab states is Arabian Gulf and for the Iranians and the west—Persian Gulf. Dr. Kurt Waldheim was at a dilemma; thus he called it The Gulf.

We accompanied Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary General of the United Nations, on his official visit to Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait and Iraq. All these six Arab states extended special invitations to us to be their guest. We took the opportunity to find Armenians and to our great surprise we found Armenians all over.

The Gulf states will play a leading role in forthcoming world affairs because of their strategic position and its current economic power. This was an assessment of the Secretary General after visiting six Arab states on the Gulf.

Most of the Armenian communities are now, and we believe the number of Armenians living in these countries, particularly Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates will double if not triple within the next decade. There is unbelievable new development here and many Armenians have found excellent jobs as professionals, doctors, engineers, architects, nurses, photographers, restaurateurs, and they are respected. The natives know that these are Armenians no matter where they come from; they don't call them Lebanese or Syrians, but Armenians which is Armenian in Arabic. Some have attained high posts in the government or in major companies. For example one of the most modern photography shops in Riyadh, called Azad Studio, is owned by an Armenian. In its lab they can process and develop color films and everything connected with photography. I doubt if there is such a studio in the United States.

Azad's partner is Giragos, King Faisal's private cameraman and one of the earlier pioneers of the Armenians in Saudi Arabia, which number some 500 living in Jeddah, Riyadh and Dhahran. They are mostly professionals and everyone likes them. We had a fine evening with the Riyadh Armenians at Giragos' house. Dr. Walter Bandazian, Dean of Haigazian College of Beirut, also joined us since he was touring the Gulf states to acquaint educational institutions with Haigazian. Another Armenian is the chief cameraman of the Saudi Arabian Television. There are opportunities for young men and many Armenians are visiting the huge country and some stay there.

The United Arab Emirates is a new country, only four years old. Seven Emirates (principdoms) have joined into one federation with Abu Dhabi its capital. The Armenian community is scattered in Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Sharjah. They number between 800-1000—no one knows the exact figure. At the Abu Dhabi Hotel, I met my first Armenian, Dr.

...and political situation. Evidence suggests that Turkey shrewdly and patiently waited for a propitious moment to execute its military and political schemes vis-a-vis Cyprus, diplomacy and pious announcements notwithstanding. The full range of these schemes is yet to unfold.

The destruction by the Kemalist Turks in the fall of 1920 of the infant Republic of Armenia, which rose in the aftermath of the World War I genocidal ordeal—an ordeal punctuated by a disproportionate scale of sacrifices in the Allied military effort by Armenia in the capacity of a "little ally"—is a grim reminder of the perils such diplomatic acrobatics and attendant callousness can produce in relation to small, powerless nations pitted against inexorable foes. Kazim, Karabekir, one of the principal heroes of the Turkish wars of liberation, and the military commander of the operations against Armenia with pride relates in his memoirs how he repeatedly literally begged Ataturk for permission to invade and destroy Armenia. As he argues, Ataturk hesitated and rejected each time—not because of legal or moral scruples but on account of fears of Allied military interference and retribution. In a strategy meeting, it was finally decided that the chances of such intercession were nil and that European powers wouldn't even lift a finger for Armenia. Consequently, Ataturk reversed himself and as Supreme Commander issued the formal orders for attack. It is significant to note here that the principal

Balabanian, who was chatting with a charming girl in Armenian. She is in charge of the air tickets and reservation and came with her parents to Abu Dhabi seven years ago from Khartoum Sudan. Dr. Balabanian's cousin, Edward, is an engineer who has lived in this country for many years. I paid a visit to their home. They have one daughter who can understand Armenian but speaks English as do all children of Armenians in Saudi Arabia. Qatar has some 50 Armenians and Bahrain hardly 20. The Kuwait community has its church and school and it is well organized. They number some 800 and they are all respected. The Iraq community has lost many who have left and gone to United States or Australia; still there are some 20,000, mainly concentrated in Baghdad, Kirkuk, Musul and Basrah. They have their churches, schools and clubs. The schools are subsidized by the Government.

At the Armenian Youth Club it was nice to see pictures of some friends—Vahagn Hovhannian, a tall young boy in the Armenian Dance Group or Dr. Nubar Astarjian, in the Executive Committee, and many others.

We had an interesting meeting with the Prelate Asoghic Bishop. I had not seen him since he had left Jerusalem as the religious pastor for the thriving Armenian community of China. He spent thirteen years there and then moved to Australia.

The first things Armenians ask me was about Paragraph 30, whether it was in Riyadh, Dubai, Basrah or Kuwait. There is unusual interest in the issue of the Turkish attempt to expunge from a U.N. document a simple reference to the massacres.

...from Bolshevik Russia? The Russian article points out.

The outcome of the Cyprus conflagration in large part hinges on covert Turkish designs but also on Turkish estimates of the probable responses of the rest of the world, particularly the Great Powers, Dadrian says. "Given the state of present international relations, and given historical patterns of Turkish conduct, these designs may be activated through the onset of precipitate crises involving among other things, provocations or miscalculations on the part of the Greek political leadership within and without the island. Such designs are likely to involve overt and covert phases of initiative, with a view to ultimately appropriating the entire island—by way of gradual dislocations, mass emigrations and eventual expulsion of the larger segments of the Greek population. This does not, of course, preclude the possibility of a holocaust, engulfing the entire population of that island. Past Turkish successes of dealing with thorny minority issues a la Turco fashion, and the present apathy of the great powers, as well as the rest of the world, reinforced by a keen Turkish awareness of a legacy of domination vis-a-vis the former subject nationalities of the Ottoman Empire tend to encourage other solutions. Nor should one underestimate the powerful legacy of the military in Turkish history and the preponderance of the Turkish military in political decision making in spite of the democratic contours and pretenses of Ankara. Yet, one cannot help but wonder whether such a posture may also not prove to be another Achilles' Heel for Turkey despite NATO. It may be easy rhetoric to appeal to the Turks to temper their appetites and to be reasonable, but Theodore Roosevelt's admonition in his memoirs in face of "dreadful inequities perpetrated" among others by the Turks may be worth repeating here:

"One outspoken and straightforward declaration by this government would have been worth to humanity a thousand times as much as all the professional pacifists have done in the past fifty years. Is the present (Ford) Administration capable of mustering such fortitude vis-a-vis an ally whose overall dependence upon the U.S. is exceeded only by her inveterate fears of the specter of the Russian Bear?"

...has been...
...of March 1978...
...Armenian students and professionals throughout the United States while disclosing some of the club's activities at Queens College and those of other Armenian clubs in American universities.

Recognizing the need for a reawakening of an intellectual consciousness in Armenian youth, members of the club organized the March 1975 issue to demonstrate the importance of responsible participation, intellectual achievement and positive educational and community development among Armenian youth.

Featured in the March issue of the newsletter are articles on the Queens College Armenian Club's formation, its course on Armenian history, educational and social activities of the club, individual essays on Armenian concerns and poetry.

The first issue has been distributed to 800 Armenian university students and teachers in the United States. It was published with the assistance of generous Armenians. Subsequent issues will be even more successful with added financial assistance, literary contributions and the general response of its readers.

Mainly educational in focus, the newsletter in the future will offer articles by Armenian students and teachers on art, science, history and literature as well as essays on Armenian related issues.

The opportunity to contribute news articles, essays and creative work has been extended to Armenian university students and teachers throughout the United States. Correspondence and articles for the second issue may be forwarded to Armenian Club of Queens College, Queens College, Box 17, The College Union, Flushing, New York 11367.

VISITS TAIWAN

WORCESTER, Mass.—Navy Petty Officer Edwin J. Garabedian, son of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin G. Garabedian of 4 Hacker St., Worcester, Mass., is visiting Keelung, Taiwan, as a crewmember of the amphibious command ship USS Blue Ridge. The ship, homeported in San Diego, is on a deployment to the Western Pacific as part of the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

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Editorial

Cyprus and the Armenians

The issue of Cyprus has held a prominent place in the news of late. Recently, Archbishop Makarios, leader of the Greek-Cypriot community, met with the Turkish-Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash, for the first time in thirteen years, to commence direct negotiations in an attempt to resolve the Cyprus problem. Clark Clifford, the United States Special Envoy to Cyprus, is currently on a tour of Athens, Ankara, and Nicosia in order to expedite negotiations.

The Cyprus situation, although usually perceived as a Greek-Turkish dispute, is of direct concern to the Armenian people. Armenians have been associated with the island since Byzantine times. A colony of approximately 10,000 Armenians was settled on the island toward the end of the sixth century A.D. There was a constant flow of population between Cyprus and the Armenian Cilician kingdom in the Middle Ages, with two of the last Armenian kings coming from Cyprus. When the Armenian kingdom fell in 1375 A.D., thirty-thousand Armenian refugees escaped to Cyprus, where most became Hellenized. Cyprus again served as a haven for Armenian refugees after the 1896, 1909 and 1915 massacres of the Armenians, and following the French evacuation of Cilicia in 1939. More recently, Armenians escaping the fighting in Lebanon journeyed to Cyprus for safety.

Armenian-Cypriots, believing that they were relatively safe on the island (which was, until 1960, under British jurisdiction) began to build up their community and the island became a center for Armenian life. The most well-known achievement was the establishment in 1923 of the Melkonian Educational Institute in Nicosia, the island's capital. Trouble between the Greek and Turkish populations, however, led to the partitioning of Nicosia in 1963. The majority of the Armenian community was left on the Turkish side, where its homes, schools, businesses, and churches were subsequently pillaged, plundered and set afire, forcing their occupants to flee for their lives.

The Armenian community on Cyprus was again subjected to the savagery of the Turk when they invaded the island in 1974. The Melkonian Institute was severely damaged by Turkish air and ground attacks. A monument, erected in memory of the one-and-one-half million Armenians slaughtered in the 1915 Genocide, fell into the area captured by the Turks. The Turks proceeded to cut the monument in half and place a bust of Mustapha Kemal Ataturk atop the remains. Again, several families were forced to abandon their homes and businesses and flee to a safer zone, becoming refugees.

U.S. aid to Turkey, is directly tied to a just solution of the Cyprus problem. With Congress and the American people cognizant of present-day Turkish barbarism, it facilitates their understanding of Armenian grievances against the Turks—for Cyprus, 1974, is a repetition of Armenia, 1915. The connection should—and must—be made, especially as the Turkish aid issue is due to reappear this spring.

Thus, Cyprus and the Armenian Question are related. Cyprus has proven that the Turk, after 900 years of savagery, has not changed at all. More important, Cyprus has demonstrated the crucial fact that the Armenian people will never enjoy peace and security until they govern themselves in a free, united, and independent homeland.

Human Rights Hearings Held

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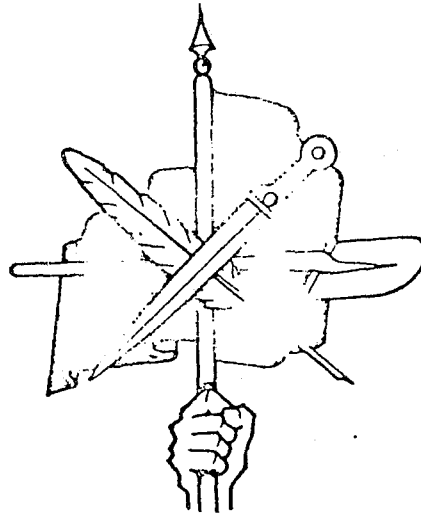
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A.R.F. Constitution

Ratified by the XXI A.R.F. Congress (1978)

POLITICAL OBJECTIVES

2) AIMS

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation, as a revolutionary and socialist party, endeavors to protect the totality of the interests of the Armenian nation, at all times, everywhere, and by every means at its disposal.

Aiming at the establishment of a United, Independent, Free and Socialist Fatherland, and in view of our present national reality, the A.R.F. pursues the following political objectives:

- A. Free, Independent and United Armenia.
- B. Armenia shall be a socialist-democratic independent republic, the boundaries of which shall incorporate Armenian territories specified by the Treaty of Sevres.
- C. The still unpunished crime of genocide perpetrated against the Armenians must be redressed by the return of the occupied territories and by the just reparations for losses.
- D. The basic laws of the socialist-democratic republic of united and independent Armenia shall be decided by the Constitutional Assembly of Armenia elected on the basis of the principle of universal, equal, direct, secret and proportional suffrage.

These basic laws must guarantee:

- 1) Complete freedom of thought, speech, press, publication, conscience, assembly, organization, strikes and movement.
- 2) Inviolability of the individual, home, correspondence and other means of communication.
- 3) Separation of Church from State. Religion is a matter of personal belief.
- 4) Abolition of all class privileges.
- 5) Equality of all national minorities and religious communities.
- 6) Universal, compulsory and free elementary and secondary education. Also the possibility of free higher education for all those who desire it. Instruction in the mother tongue.
- 7) Equality of all citizens before the law. Public trial by independent courts. The right of trial by jury.
- 8) Broad administrative local autonomy.
- 9) The universal right to introduce bills of law to legislative assemblies, and to initiate referenda when necessary.
- 10) Insurance of all citizens against old age, unemployment, accidents and sickness.

90 Years of Faithful Service to the Armenian People

Manifesto

1890

ARMENIANS,

Today, the Armenian Question enters a new era. Turkish Armenia, enslaved for centuries, is now demanding its freedom.

The Armenian who until yesterday begged on bent knee for assistance from Europe, is convinced today of the futility for any further faith in such a hope. He is resolved to defend his rights, his property, his honor and family with his own hands....

The unprecedented atrocities have at last awakened the Armenian; he has now resolved to be Free — or Die. Erzeroum and Constantinople have fearlessly protested already against the innumerable injustices. The Armenian is no longer imploring — he now demands, with gun in hand....

The flagbearer of those revolutionary ideals, the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries, now appeals to all Armenians and invites everyone to rally around one banner... It has entered a people's war against the Turkish government, having for its sole aim the eventual political and economic liberation of Turkish Armenia. It has vowed to continue this fight for freedom to its last drop of blood.

Therefore, brothers, let us unite in the sacred cause against the common enemy.

And you, the youth, champions of sublime ideals everywhere, unite with the people.

And you, elders, animate your children and support them with your long experience.

And you, the wealthy, open wide your purses in order to provide arms and ammunition to the people who has bared its breast to the enemy.

And you, Armenian woman, instill spirit in the holy cause.

And you, the Armenian clergy, bless the freedom fighters....

This is not the time to linger....

Let us unite, brothers, and carry on bravely the noble work of national liberation.

The Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries

90 Years of Service to The Armenian People

For 90 years now, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation has not only fought and shed its blood for Armenian political rights, it has also been recognized as the major force capable of directing the struggle for the Armenian Liberation Movement by the overwhelming majority of the Armenian people.

This popular support is not derived from the size or the wealth of its membership, but rather from the identification of the A.R.F. with the Armenian people's national aspirations.

The A.R.F. does not rely on passive and foreign ideologies that have no basis with the growth of the Armenian people as a separate national ethnic entity. Instead, the A.R.F. draws its moral and physical strengths from the sum of the development of Armenian political thought, the realities created by the Armenian people and the vision of a potential yet to be reached by a politically sovereign people unhindered in its own homeland, free from foreign intervention or oppression.

This goal embodies the will of every Armenian proud of his heritage, confident in his future and strong in his ideological commitments.

Despite past and present obstacles presented by negative historico-political circumstances, the A.R.F. remains firm in the conviction that the Armenian people must be the supreme arbiter of its collective destiny.

The Genocide of 1915 and the present catraccization of the Armenian Question by the worlds' governments are severe setbacks to the Armenian libera-

tion movement. Now, due to several factors, not altogether unconnected with the A.R.F., it appears that worldwide Armenian recognition for its own cause has created an irreversible momentum that will halt only when Armenian political rights are restored on sovereign Armenian territories.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation is not just a political party. The A.R.F. has not arisen from the breast of the Armenian people merely to decoy or propagate social theories. It has arisen from the conditions that have plagued the Armenian people oppressed under foreign governments on its own lands. Realizing that the salvation of the Armenian people rested in its own hands, the people itself gave birth to this organization, knowing well, it would have to justify its existence by the shedding of its blood. The full measure by which this test of fire was accomplished is today a proud part of the History of the entire Armenian People.

We believe the Armenian Revolutionary Federation has not changed in its concern for the Armenian interests over the past 90 years. Its membership has changed. Its focus of operation has changed. Its methods of operations have changed. But its ideals and spirit it engenders remains the same as it was 90 long years ago. Created in the fulcrum of turmoil, the A.R.F. must continue its work, at least, until the Armenian people have achieved their primary goals.

As such, the A.R.F. continually attracts new members and adherents. It is only logical to assume that the charismatic nature of the party and the appeal to common sense has remained on the same high level.

All in all, 90 years after its birth, the A.R.F. is alive, well and growing ever young. The party, as an expression of the brawn and brain of the Armenian people, is a reflection of the vitality, determination and ever-increasing strength of the Armenian people.

As long as the Armenian people exists, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation will remain at the barricades, ever watchful, vigilant, and ready to take up the fight on behalf of the people it serves for almost a century.

The Evolution of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation's Socialist Ideas and Activities 1903-07

By G. Nzhdehants

Translated by Farhad

B. WESTERN ARMENIA: THE SITUATION

During the years 1903-1907 (as well as the years before and after) revolutionary activity in Western Armenia proceeded along the path of national liberation. This was conditioned by the imperative of liberating the persecuted Armenian workers.

Federation and solidarity of oppressed nations against the dictatorial regime also became imperative. Besides the Armenians, the main oppressed elements were the Turkish and Kurdish common workers. The Turkish governmental upper stratum strove to strangle the revolution directed against it by instigating antagonism between nations.

The control of revolutionary and opposition movements (both Turkish and Kurdish) was in the hands of the wealthy and bourgeois class in the case of the Turks, and in the case of the Kurds, in the hands of the chieftains remaining from the noble-feudal rulers. Thus, the leaders of those evolutionary developments could not be regarded as the true representatives of the working masses. The Federation's reservation towards these elements, naturally was obvious, and consequently in order to advance a broad workers' movement, the Federation would particularly emphasize economic and common civic demands in its cooperation with them.

The Federation, which in Turkey did not demonstrate separatist dispositions, strove to advance solidarity between the revolutionary organizations and elements of the various nations in the Ottoman Empire and to form a revolutionary federation with a political program based on federal principles that would protect the rights of all nations.

From the perspective of national matters, the Federation's political-socialist line in the Ottoman Empire appeared with the following proposals:

1. Complete equality of nations.
2. Broad local autonomy.
3. Autonomy for the the six Armenian vilayets, which doesn't contradict other nations rights.

Consequently, in order to overthrow the dictatorial regime, the Federation could not work with other revolutionary organizations (The Young Turks, Macedonian revolutionaries, a few Kurdish tribes). Soon, however, the Turkish oppositionists manifested their racist pan-Turanism sentiments and developed political programs based on pan Turanism. Moreover, a great portion of the Kurds was not able to evaluate the political situation that threatened their existence as well. By their economic exploitations and pillages they indirectly implemented the government's political decisions.

Coming to the worker economic question, it is necessary to keep in mind that the conditions of Western Armenia's provinces were completely different from the industrial and economic conditions of the large cities in Europe or the Caucasus. There were still no large industrial establishments or factories in the Armenian provinces and villages other than a few partial areas where small factories had been established. Capitalism in its current and broad sense still hadn't penetrated Western Armenia. However, one of its variants in the

form of exploitation and persecution was put into effect by officials and tax collectors. The main working element was the peasant — either as a tiller of the land or at most a small craftsman.

Consequently, in Western Armenia, the Federation, in proportion to the prevailing objective conditions, was not markedly a socialist party against capitalism (in the large industrial sense). Its aim was the pursuit of the cause of Turkish Armenia, having as a popular base the oppressed working class and demanding this latter's economic and political rights.

If Capitalism was not the exploiting force, then how can one explain the economic difficulties and oppressed conditions of the workers?

The old system of persecution had been changed and had acquired a regularized form. Thus, official and effendis, in order to ensure the government's income, created a system where the weight of the taxes was concentrated on the peasant and poor artisan. Rich and poor paid the same. "Droshag" described it in this way: "Usurious capital and all those enterprises that provided their owners with great sums, paid proportionately nothing. The large portion of the taxes on vital foodstuffs, fell equally on the poor cultivator and the rich Beg." This system that had begun a decade earlier was slowly perfected.

Roupen Der Minasian authenticated this situation with economic-objective numbers in the third volume of the series Memoirs of an Armenian Revolutionary (In 1905, he had been sent to the province of Daron as a field worker).

In order to show the socio-economic state of the Armenian provinces, we will be satisfied with a general example of economic oppression and exploitation in the Duran-Bartzravang (Daron, Bitlis, Mush, Khlat).

In Duran-Bartzravang, the government was implementing a program for Turkification, Kurdish clans were slowly assimilated, turkizing their villages with them. The penetration of the turkified Kurdish clans into Armenian villages occurred through consistent and systematic activity.

Thus, the effendi, having received special papers from the government, authorizing him to collect taxes, and accompanied by a few gendarmes and a great number of relatives, goes to the villages at such a time in the spring when the peasant has no ready cash. The gendarmes, as "men of law", beat up the moneyless peasant according to custom. At this point, one of the effendi's relatives offers money as a loan, but on the conditions of "salaf." The peasant is "happy."

Actually, the "salaf" was one of the shrewd tricks of the effendi through his relative. Let us assume that the peasant needs 100 kurush (an Ottoman unit of money. Trans.) to pay his taxes. Let us also take into account that in the spring one kileh (weight-measure) of wheat is worth 150 kurush, but during the largest (August-September) the price usually falls to 100 or even 50 kurush. Thus, the effendi gives 100 kurush to the peasant but counts the wheat at the minimum price (50 kurush). He then demands that in September the peasant give him two kileh's of wheat. In this way, by giving the peasant 100 kurush and obtaining a promise for two kileh's of wheat in a few months,

A.R.F. Constitution

Ratified by the XXI A.R.F. World Congress, 1978

POLITICAL OBJECTIVES

1. SUBSTANTIATION

Armenia, the fatherland of the Armenian Nation, is one of the oldest countries in the Near East. Situated between the Black, Caspian and Mediterranean seas, it forms a distinctive highland and has been the home of the Armenian people since times immemorial. The Armenian nation was formed here and here it created its history, civilization, culture, national character throughout thousands of years of uninterrupted habitation.

The Armenian people has often been forced to struggle against invaders from the Eastern or the Western imperialism for the reestablishment of its independent statehood. Nevertheless, the social life of the Armenian nation has progressed in its distinct way, as dictated by unique geographical, historical, political and economic factors.

Thus, from the earliest days of its centralized monarchy, Armenia has lived through centuries of feudalism because of the extremely fragmented relief of the Armenian Plateau and the difficulty of its internal communications; consequently there emerged semi-independent principalities and small kingdoms. These same factors hindered the formation of a bourgeois class which would have been the essential factor in the progressive advancement of Armenian society to the next step and the emergence and strengthening of a new centralized state. The Armenian class-conscious noble houses, especially those on the periphery of the country, often acted as essentially centrifugal forces and were periodically utilized by expansionist states in order to obstruct the policies of the Armenian dynasties aiming to create a powerful centralized state.

On the other hand, this ever-present rivalry between the Armenian nobility and royal dynasties, with all its negative aspects, often acted as a positive factor in the liberation struggle of the Armenian people, especially against the persistent expansionistic policies of the states trying to divide the Armenian Plateau among themselves. In this sense, the Armenian noble houses, singly or jointly, thus became bulwarks of the struggle for the reestablishment of an independent Armenian national statehood and strongholds for the development of Armenian national culture, during different periods in history.

After the gradual disappearance of the Armenian royalty and nobility, the Armenian Apostolic Church remained the only survivor of and heir to the Armenian feudal structure, as a religious-moral institution, a stronghold of the Armenian social structure, a center of Armenian culture, a factor in the development of the national character and consciousness, and a symbol of national unity. With the advent of the modern era, however, the Church lost its relatively vigorous character, especially on the internal front, and became a buttress for conservative thinking, thus hindering in some respects the reformation of Armenian social and national life consistent with the demands of modern times.

The break in the natural development of Armenian social and national life occurred in particular because of the fact that Turanian invaders not only devastated the country, but also settled massively in every province of Armenia. As a result, the invaders not only changed the largely monolithic Armenian demographic profile of the Armenian Plateau, but also hindered for centuries the progress of Armenian culture and civilization, imposed their primitive way of life and social structure on the Armenians and forced the Armenian social evolution back by many centuries.

Moreover, by confiscating and appropriating the matrix of the Armenian peasantry's economic life, its lands, by driving peasants to mountainous regions and by deporting other Armenians in masses, the invaders reduced considerably the numerical strength of the Armenians and weakened their collective determination for self-defense, thus fatefully reducing the potential for their survival and the possibilities of their recovery.

This gradually deteriorating situation continued throughout five centuries of Ottoman rule until modern times and had decisive consequences for the political destiny of the Armenian people, as well as the nature and evolution of the Armenian Question.

The Russian advance into the Caucasus in the beginning of the nineteenth century inspired some hope among the Armenians suffering under the Ottoman yoke, contributing at the same time to their national and cultural renaissance. It meant, nonetheless, the continued partition of Armenia between two empires which not only continued to obstruct the natural development of Armenian political, social and economic life, but also deepened the cleavage between the eastern and western segments of the Armenian nation.

The Armenians stepped into the Modern Era split into two basic social groups: the native population of Armenia, made up mostly of peasants, and the Armenians of the diaspora, primarily clustered around international urban centers, such as Constantinople, Smyrna, Tiflis, Baku, etc. The Armenian peasantry living in Armenia was socially unorganized, economically backward and politically unsophisticated. It was subject to brutal persecutions, oppression and continuous persecution under the Ottoman rulers. In the largely cosmopolitan and alien environment of the diaspora colonies, new classes of workers and bourgeoisie were developing, deprived of a national environment and orientation, these classes were deeply involved in international movements and played only a marginal role in the Armenian national movement.

end of the nineteenth century that, due to the Armenian national-cultural renaissance, the Armenians regained their political consciousness and rose in arms against the repressive and oppressive policies of the Ottoman state.

As a natural result of close contacts with the evolution of international life and its spirit, the Armenian bourgeoisie of the diaspora along with some progressive emerging intellectual class, became the initiators and the formulators of the Armenian revolutionary movement, especially during its initial phase, in the period of the national romanticism and the Armenian renaissance. Drawing its inspiration from the revolutionary surges of a number of traditional Armenian strongholds (Karabagh, Zeitoun, Sassoun, etc.), the principles and ideas of the French Revolution, the political renaissance of the European masses, and the national liberation struggles of the Balkan peoples, this intellectual class contributed greatly to the organization and development of the Armenian revolutionary movement.

However, when the Armenian revolutionary movement entered its active bloody phase and began to shed its blood, the Armenian bourgeoisie gradually started isolating itself from the movement and eventually opposed it in spirit and in deed. This affected adversely the expansion and progress of the movement.

In fact, the Armenian Revolution became essentially the movement of the peasant, the artisan, and the tradesman of the Armenian homeland; these were joined by the new generations of the Armenian revolutionary intellectuals.

Acquiring impetus in the 1880's the Armenian revolution entered its natural course, by becoming a true movement of national liberation. For the next thirty

Continued on Page 14

Is Survival a Measure of Success?

By Serge L. Samoniantz

To answer the above question in the affirmative would mean then that survival alone is the goal of an individual or an organization.

Since this limited objective cannot be the true, at least for Armenian organizations, then the purpose for continuing to exist as an Armenian organization or individual has to have another purpose.

The A.R.F. correctly believes that survival alone is not the solution to our troubles. It is only a means to a solution.

Survival to many people means different things. One can try to survive as a businessman. One can try to survive the difficulties of daily life. One can attempt to survive as an intellectual in infertile surroundings.

These simplistic concerns, however, pale in comparison with the task of creating, and building politicized, and revolutionary Armenians to carry out the tasks that must be performed in the long struggle yet ahead to achieve the national aspirations of the entire Armenian people. Survival, in this context, means fighting against the overwhelming odds in this assimilatory society.

Some members of the community are proud of the A.R.F. for a very mistaken reason; they believe we have succeeded because we have survived 90 years of work and tribulations.

Nothing could be so misleading and dangerous for a revolutionary organization as to believe erroneously that it has achieved its objective, when it has not.

The purpose of the A.R.F. is not surviving. It is not sufficient to

years ago as a self-serving organization. Had it been so, it would have been dissolved long ago by the very people whom founded it. It would have been deserted by the people who supported it. It would have been rejected as foreign by the body of Armenian public opinion.

That has not been the case. And as long as the people does not consider the work of the A.R.F. done, it cannot, it will not be allowed to follow other self-serving organizations into the dustbin of history.

The A.R.F. success is not its survival, it is in its progress. It lays in its successful activities amongst the Armenian people. It comes from its preaching of ideals of the Armenian character to a people who is receptive to its own.

However, the true measure of success is in the recognition given by the enemy itself.

Being the oldest cannot be considered a success story unless activity has created memories which are a source of pride and are sources of inspiration for future work for all. Furthermore, being 90-years-old - a mere drop in the rich 4 thousand year-old history of the Armenian people - has no singular meaning when one realizes that there are many more fruitful years ahead.

The many ups and downs of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation parallels the history of its people. As such, the example of a continuous, unbroken existence, the continued resilience and creative longevity of the Armenian nation is still amazing. This is the true success story.

Excerpts from the A.R.F. "Dzrakir"

Continued from Page 13

ty years Armenian political thought was molded by that movement and Armenian will and determination were forged in it.

The Armenian revolutionary movement not only imbued the Armenian Question with a new spirit, by transforming it into a cause pursued by the people's own liberation struggle, but it also united all the segments of the Armenian people around the same national, political and social objectives. In this way, the movement created the contemporary Armenian citizen conscious of the totality of his individual and collective rights.

Furthermore, remaining true to the Armenian national legacy of grasping and adopting the most progressive universal ideas, the Armenian Revolution introduced the liberation movement of the Armenians into the flow of universal revolution by embracing the ideal of Socialism.

Moreover, the Armenian Revolution actually helped in forming the social consciousness of the multinational masses in Turkey, the Caucasus, and Persia, and became one of the moving forces in their liberation movements. The Armenian Revolution continually remained the standard-bearer of the principle of total recognition of universal human and national rights, having as its basic proposition the federated co-existence and harmonious cooperation of all the peoples of Asia Minor and Transcaucasia.

However, the ruling Ottoman elite, whether Sultanist or Ittihadist, responded to the progressive policies of the Armenian Revolution by putting forward pan-Islamic and pan-Turanian religious and racist ideologies, and by periodic massacres. Taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the outbreak of World War I, the Ittihadist leaders embarked upon the execution of their minutely planned radical solution to the Armenian Question: the deportation of the Armenians and their total extermination. The 1915 Genocide took the lives of over one-third of the Armenian people, approximately 1.5 million victims, and resulted in the loss of immeasurable material and cultural wealth. Western Armenia became emptied of its native population.

The pan-Turanian policy, however, did not attain its objectives. In 1918, the surviving Armenians stood up as one against the invading Turkish armies, halted their advance and laid the foundations of the independence of Armenia. Thus, after centuries of interruption, Armenian national statehood was reestablished on a small portion of historic Armenia.

On August 10, 1920, together with the Allies, Armenia signed with Turkey the Treaty of Sevres which entrusted President Wilson with the task of demarcating the Armeno-Turkish boundaries and set the stage for the punishment of those responsible by the Genocide. According to the decision reached by Wilson, the provinces of Garin, Van, and Bitlis, as well as parts of Trebizond and Kharput provinces, were to be returned to Armenia.

However, because of the emergence of the Kemalist movement in Turkey, the pro-Turkish position of Soviet Russia, the complicity of the Allies, and the new intrigues of international imperialism, the provisions of the Treaty of Sevres were not implemented. In September 1920, Turkey once again attacked Armenia. Facing the ultimatum of Soviet Russia, the Armenian Government signed the accords for the sovietization of Armenia on December 2, 1920.

Two years later, prompted by their political and economic interests, the Great Powers once again abandoned the just Armenian Cause at Lausanne, thus leaving unresolved its final and total solution.

Presently, we are confronted by the following situation:

1. Soviet Armenia, a territory of 30,000 square kilometers, represents one-sixth of the Armenian territories delineated by the Treaty of Sevres and Wilson's arbitration.
2. Only about 45% of the Armenian nation lives in Soviet Armenia, while the rest, representing primarily the population of the Turkish-occupied provinces, are scattered in the diaspora within and without the Soviet Union.
3. To date, there has been no redress of the Turkish Genocide of the Armenians through the restoration of justice. On the contrary, it is being indirectly perpetuated, due to the fact that the Armenians in the diaspora, being deprived of a collective life in their own homeland, are subject to the danger of gradually losing their national identity.
4. Turkish-occupied Armenian lands have mostly remained barren, arid and desolate, in spite of Turkish efforts to repopulate them. The Turks have destroyed and continue to destroy all those historical monuments which attest to the Armenian ownership of these desolate areas.
5. International Law and the United Nations Charter in general, and the United Nations Genocide Convention of 1948 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the same year in particular, forbid and condemn genocide and repudiate the recognition of any occupation and appropriation of national territories.

These international laws and treaties have retroactive effect on all old and new cases of genocide, even more so on those which are still continuing. It is in the interest of mankind and international peace that these laws and treaties be fully applied, both in letter and in spirit, so as in the first place, to render justice to the victims of genocide, and, secondly, to prevent the recurrence of new genocides and spare humanity new calamities.

6. The right of national self-determination, which is part of the United Nations Charter, logically and legally must be applied to the case of the Armenian nation, as one of the most wronged nations in the world.

The resolution of the Armenian Case is, in fact, not only a pragmatic expression of justice and condemnation and punishment of genocide, but also a matter of human and international law based on the unalienable principle of national free self-determination.

7. Thus, the Armenian Case has fundamental historic, moral, legal, political dimensions and bases, and is summarized in the following three points:

- a. The creation of an integral Armenia on the territories of Western Armenia.
- b. The ingathering in their integral homeland of all the Armenians from the Soviet Diaspora and that of the rest of the world.
- c. National free self-determination: the creation of a Free and Independent Armenia.

8. The solution of the Armenian Case, together with the causes of all unfree nations, has universal significance.

Without the solution of just national causes, including the Armenian Case, international coexistence and peace cannot be completely achieved.

In particular, the future socialist order and international brotherhood of socialist nations cannot be fully realized.

...Violence, persecution, deprivations cannot break a nation if that nation, besides being conscious of everyone's well being, also has the determination to fight for its rights, and is considerate of the people's instincts and feelings which have been nurtured and cared for through the centuries.

Christapor Mikaelian

Evolution of A.R.F. Socialist Ideas and Activities, 1903-07

Continued from Page 12

the effendi makes 200 kurush. However, the effendi's relative isn't satisfied with this and also demands that the peasant sign a promissory note in which the peasant agrees that he had received credit for two kileh's of wheat (150 plus 150: 300) and that he will return this amount in September. Moreover, the peasant should be glad that there is no interest added to his debt.

Then, Roupen describes the exploitations and persecutions that occur during harvest season and how at the end of the harvest, the peasant is left with barely half his crop. But the "salaf" still doesn't end. This time, the effendi comes to collect the "salaf" and taxes at such a time when the peasant's bread is consumed and his pocket empty. The effendi demands the two kileh's of wheat that he loaned or the equivalent of 300 kurush. The peasant has neither money nor wheat. Again, the effendi leaves 300 kurush as a salaf, counting a kileh at the minimum price of 50 kurush. In this way, the peasant remains in debt for six kilehs of wheat, or at the spring maximum (150 kurush): 900 kurush.

Hence in the course of 15 months, the effendi's 100 kurush becomes 900. The next year, the effendi — through various methods and taking advantage of the conveniences provided to tax collectors — turns 900 kurush into 18 kileh's of wheat or 2,700 kurush. Finally, in a few years, the peasant's entire harvest doesn't even suffice to pay his debts. He loses everything he owns, except for his land and labor power, and deprived of his planting seed, he becomes the vassal of the effendi's will. Soon, the effendi has his two-story house built on the peasant's land; in this way, the Turkish penetration begins. The wholly-Armenian village bit by bit becomes mixed with Turks and is slowly "cleansed" of Armenians.

On September 18, 1906, the vice-consul of England, Mr. Gary, wrote in a telegram from Bitlis:

"The creditors are almost without exception Turks or Kurds, who bit by bit become the owners of previously Armenian-owned lands. The system, which in the local dialect is called salaf, greatly aids in achieving this result. Through this system, money is loaned with the guarantee of future crops and recompense, with the percentage often reaching 300 or 400%. Extortion and corruption have become the natural occurrences of the day, and I often hear many brutal stories."

To Be Continued

FOOTNOTES:

1. The 3rd (1904) and 4th (1907) World Congresses emphasized these demands.
2. cf. Armenian-Soviet Encyclopedia, Vol. 11, Bitlis Vilayet subtitle, p. 433.
3. cf. Roupen, *Memoirs of an Armenian Revolutionary*, vol. III, pp. 13-19.
4. cf. Christopher Walker, *Armenia: The Survival of a Nation*, p. 178. (In English).

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Moscow's Armenian terror expert

NATO intelligence sources believe that Moscow is directly involved in the continuing wave of terrorism against Turkish diplomats and officials by Armenian extremists. As previously reported in this column, scores of Armenian Turks have received guerrilla training at PLO camps in Syria under the supervision of Soviet advisers.

Some Armenian Turks are also believed to have attended training establishments inside the Soviet Union that are controlled by the G.R.U., Soviet military intelligence, whose Third Department is specifically for handling "national liberation movements."

The man behind the overall strategy, according to my sources, is Mr K. N. Brutents, one of the deputy chiefs of the powerful International Department of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party, which exercises a decisive co-ordinating role in covert action and subversive operations.

At 56, Mr Brutents is relatively young by comparison with Mr Boris Ponomarev, the 73-year-old head of the International Department, and his 76-year-old immediate superior, Mr R. Ulmanovskiy, whose general brief is relations with "national liberation" groups.

Born and educated in Soviet Azerbaijan, Mr Brutents is an Armenian by nationality whose interests span the Middle East, southern Europe and Latin America. In 1976, after extensive travels in Syria, Lebanon, Venezuela and Colombia, he published a book on the developing countries.

Last year, he returned to Syria and also visited Panama as a member of a Soviet Communist party delegation. In the course of this year, he has had meetings in Moscow with delegations from Nicaragua, Bolivia, Syria and the PLO.

Some observers see him as a possible heir to Mr Ponomarev, although the favoured contender is Mr Vadim Zagladin, who has specialised in efforts to influence the West European member-parties of the Socialist International and to so divide Europe and the United States.

General
Info:

FROM
THE INTELLIGENCE WAR
COLUMN
BY ROBERT MOSS
IN LONDON DAILY
TELEGRAPH
1/6/81

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VII. 10 Apr 81

TURKEY

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TERCUMAN CRITICIZES SOVIET COMMENT ON U.S. INTENT

NC101038 Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 7 Apr 81 pp 1, 12

[Editorial by Nazli Ilicak: "The West and the Soviet Union"]

[Excerpts] Interest in foreign politics has increased in news reports and commentaries since the 12 September intervention. The reason may be the ever-increasing gravity of the international issues surrounding us or the scarcity of material in the absence of the daily arguments of the [former] leaders.

For instance, such questions as "can the United States intervene in the Persian Gulf? If it does, what attitude will Turkey adopt?" have been occupying newspaper columns over the past few months. Some writers approach the matter with good will and express sincere worries, while others are trying to distract attention from real threats and to cover up Soviet expansionism under the [alleged threat] of "U.S. imperialism."

We must first examine how the Persian Gulf issue has reached this stage and why the United States has had to form "a rapid deployment force". Had not the Soviet Union carried out a coup in Afghanistan and proclaimed Babrak Karmal as its leader, and had not the pro-Soviet Tudeh party in Iran come so near to assuming power in Iran as the only disciplined organization, no one would have thought of taking precautions for fear that the oil resources feeding Europe would be dried up.

The Soviet Union has been continually harping on reports that the United States would intervene in the Persian Gulf, and "The Voice of the Turkish Communist Party" and "Our Radio" broadcasts beamed to Turkey keep emphasizing this allegation. They say: "In order to involve Turkey in the adventures it has undertaken in the Persian Gulf, the United States is trying to drag NATO into the issue as well and to turn Turkish territory into an arena of operations for the Rapid Deployment Force."

Attention is turned from Afghanistan to the Persian Gulf. Under such loud slogans as "no to the Pershing and cruise missiles," the SS-20's are being developed and installed. Then, to cover up the ugliness of the Polish crisis, the U.S. policy in Salvador has been taken up for days on end as the main topic of the day.

Are't those who once tried to distract attention by preaching that "fascism is escalating" the perpetrators of the same mentality? Let us not forget that the purpose here is not to get closer to the East but to get nearer to the Soviet Union.

ARMENIAN TERRORISTS LINKED TO NARCOTICS SMUGGLING

NC101004 Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 7 Apr 81 p 4

[Text] Ankara (TH)--Arguments that the Armenians who are organizing attacks on Turkish diplomats in many countries are being supplied with funds and arms through the smuggling of narcotics, particularly heroin, are gaining ground. According to a report prepared by the regional intelligence office, which cooperates with INTERPOL and which tries to uncover narcotics smugglers in the Middle East, some of the heroin and 8,240 kilos of the 11,874 kilos of hashish seized in Europe in the last 3 months of 1980 came from Lebanon. Drawing attention to the fact that Beirut is the base of Armenian terrorist operations, INTERPOL authorities argue that these terrorist organizations may also be connected with the smuggling of narcotics.

The regional intelligence office report further states that six persons who attempted to smuggle heroin into France during the last 3 months of 1980 were proved to be Armenians possessing Lebanese passports. The report also states that Lebanon is the main base for narcotics smuggling.

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TURKEY

ARMENIAN TERROR TIED TO GREEKS, GREEK CYPRIOTS

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 9 Mar 81 p 13

[Text] Ankara (HURRIYET) -- Turkish experts have conducted on-site investigations of the recent coldblooded slaying in Paris of Turkish Labor Attache Resat Morali and religious official Tecelli Ari and have also pulled out the files on the killing of our Paris Ambassador Ismail Erez and our Vienna Ambassador Danis Tunaligil for further evaluation.

The Turkish experts investigating the crimes, it was learned, reached the conclusion: "The way in which the crimes were committed and the gunmen's dropping from view show that the perpetrators were professional, hired killers." It was found that the Turkish experts who investigated the Erez and Tunaligil slayings had also come up with the same view in their reports.

It was learned that following the slaying of our Labor Attache Resat Morali and religious official Tecelli Ari, Turkish experts again pulled out the files containing comments by Swiss police and the statement to Swiss police by the Lebanese Armenian merchant Antranik Tulumbajian, who had contributed money to the "Armenian Judgment and Vengeance Organization" which was responsible for the killings of Turkish foreign representatives. According to the information obtained, Tulumbajian said that he contributed money to the "Armenian Judgment and Vengeance Organization" which killed "Erez and Tunaligil" and that wealthy Greeks and Greek Cypriots were supporting the Armenians' anti-Turkish activities.

Significant information was obtained by Turkish experts who worked jointly with German intelligence organizations in investigating in France and Germany the incident in which our tourism counselor was killed in Paris last year, it was learned.

According to this information, the "Armenian Judgment and Vengeance Organization," located in central Lebanon, is the parent group of the Armenian organizations known by a variety of names. "Armenian Judgment and Vengeance Organization" agents reportedly maintain relations with the Greek Cypriot EOKA-B and the Greek Cypriot Liberation Organization in Salonika. It was learned also that wealthy Greeks finance the Greek Cypriot Liberation Organization in Salonika, which is consistent with the statement to Swiss police by the Armenian merchant Tulumbajian.

Some of the Turkish experts' findings in their investigations in European nations of the slayings of Turkish diplomats are:

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May 1980

ARMENIAN TERRORISM

Background

There are now 5 to 6 million Armenians throughout the world. They have been notably successful in business, the professions, art and literature. Armenians have lived in the eastern part of Asia Minor, in territory now divided between Turkey, Iran and the Soviet Union, for over 2,000 years. Their language is Indo-European and they are Christians (mostly Eastern Christians of the non-Chalcedonian tradition). In the heyday of the Ottoman Empire they co-existed peacefully with the Muslim Turks and some rose to positions of wealth and privilege as merchants and bankers in Constantinople (now Istanbul).

In the early 19th century they were known as the *Millet-i Sadika* (loyal community), but between 1894 and 1920 nearly a third of all Armenians (over a million and a half) died violently or as a result of enforced privation. During the 19th century the generally more favourable treatment experienced by those Armenians who came under Russian rule, together with the rise of nationalism in Europe, stimulated the growth of an Armenian national movement. The growth of such ideas was inevitably viewed by the Turks as a serious internal threat: the loss of an important part of the Anatolian heartland would have jeopardised the viability of the Ottoman State.

Between 1877 and 1878 the Russians came close to occupying Constantinople. But although the subsequent Congress of Berlin in 1878 was attended by a strong Armenian delegation, their hopes of local autonomy were frustrated; they achieved only the inscription of an unworkable clause obliging Western Powers to protect Armenians from Ottoman "misrule". During the late 1880s and early 1890s a number of underground defence groups and armed revolutionary societies, drawing inspiration from similar groups in Russia, were formed. They were not generally supported and often had to resort to threats against rich, conservative Armenians unwilling to support their cause.

Large-scale massacres of Armenians began in 1894. An attempt by the Hunchaks, a revolutionary Socialist group founded in Geneva in 1887, to incite the Armenians of Sasun to defy the Ottoman Government and the local Kurdish overlords was suppressed with a ferocity which led to an international outcry. In 1909 many thousands of Armenians in the Adana district were massacred after supporting an uprising directed against the growing power of the Turkish nationalist Committee for Union and Progress. The most serious massacres took place in 1915. The Turks had come to regard their Armenian minority as a dangerous foreign element friendly to the country's enemies (who were then attacking the Dardanelles) and with relations in the Russian army (then attacking Turkey's eastern front). The Armenian revolt in that year resulted in a mass

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Many Armenians left Turkey for Russia, Arab or more distant countries after 1915. Large communities developed in the Lebanon (where there are still 200,000), Iran and Syria. Further afield, by 1975, there were over 500,000 Armenians in the USA and Canada, over 200,000 in France, and over 100,000 in South America, as well as active communities in such countries as the United Kingdom, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Romania, Bulgaria, Australia and India.

In 1918 an independent Armenian Republic was created but was incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1920. A strong force binding Armenian exiles is the Armenian Apostolic Church to which over 80 per cent of the Armenians in the Near and Middle East belong. After the Second World War, when the Soviet Union made determined efforts to encourage Armenians to return or resettle in the Armenian SSR, there developed bitter disputes over the relationship between the Supreme Catholicos, who is *primus inter pares* of all Armenian bishops and resident at Echmiadzin in Soviet Armenia, and the Catholicossate of Cilicia based at Antilias, near Beirut, which has provided an alternative focus for Armenian sentiment. There was a breach between Echmiadzin and Antilias after the death of the Catholicos Karekin of Cilicia in 1952. His successor, the anti-Communist Bishop Zareh, was not elected until 1956 and the breach was not healed until 1963 when Zareh's successor, the Catholicos Khoren, also an opponent of Communism, recognised the primacy of Echmiadzin and in turn was recognised by the Supreme Catholicos as holding valid spiritual authority in his own sphere.

Organisations

Three nationalist parties, the Tashnaks, the Hunchaks and the Ramgavars, are widely represented in Armenian communities throughout the world. Two of them were founded before the Russian Revolution but, in recent years, their policies have been largely decided by their attitudes to the Soviet Union. Founded in Tiflis in 1890 as a Socialist revolutionary group, the Tashnak Party dominated the short-lived independent Armenian Republic in 1918 but, after that Republic was incorporated into the USSR in 1920, became anti-Soviet and nationalist. It is the strongest Armenian party; it has a large right-wing middle class and intellectual following, but its periodic flirtations with violence have cost it the support of many moderates. The Hunchak Party is Socialist and pro-Soviet. It derives its support from left-wing Socialists and radical nationalists. It is fissiparous and has never been well organised outside Syria and the Lebanon. The Ramgavar Party, founded in 1920, shares many of the aims of the Tashnaks; in the 1950s it was aligned with the Hunchaks and other pro-Soviet groups over the election of a new Catholicos of Cilicia; although it has contact with Soviet Armenia, its Communist connexions are slighter than those of the Hunchaks.

Until the Lebanese civil war of the mid-1970s, Beirut was the cultural and political centre of Armenians in exile. They enjoyed full Lebanese citizenship and members of the Tashnak party, in particular, traditionally served in the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies. The Armenian language was taught in a number of local schools (and at university level); there were numerous Armenian magazines, a flourishing Armenian theatre and many Armenians held important positions in Lebanese banking and commerce. However, most of this Armenian community live in East Beirut and although they have tried to remain neutral, their position has become increasingly difficult. Many Armenians have emigrated to the United States to join the prosperous community already established there. Meanwhile these pressures have overridden ideological differences among Armenians generally, not only in the Lebanon: there has been a resurgence of nationalism among younger Armenians and many extremist organisations have been founded, several based in Paris. There have been allegations that the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) is based in Beirut and is an offshoot of the Lebanese Tashnaks; it has also been suggested that the Paris-based "Armenian Struggle" group provides it with covert support (their magazine *Hay Baykar* has not opposed the use of violence). Nevertheless connexions between terrorist groups operating under such names as ASALA (the only group which has given public Press conferences), the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide or the Armenian Resistance and the main Armenian groups remain unproven.

The lack of evidence about the identity of the active Armenian terrorists has given rise to charges and counter-charges. There are suggestions in the Turkish Press of Greek and Greek Cypriot involvement; Turkish journalists have pointed out that these murders and bombing attacks have taken place since the Turkish "peace operation" in Cyprus in 1974. Conversely some Armenians claim that extreme Turkish nationalists have a vested interest in carrying out attacks which may be depicted in Turkey as the work of Greeks. A pamphlet distributed in Beirut earlier this year by the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide, which has itself admitted a number of bomb attacks, claimed that recent bombings against non-Turkish airlines in Paris, Madrid, Rome and Amsterdam were the work of "Turkey and its network of European agents".

Nevertheless, it seems likely that the wave of terrorism since 1975 has been the work of militant young Armenians. ASALA spokesmen, at a Press conference in Beirut on 9 November 1978, made clear that, while maintaining their basic aim of independence for Armenia, they saw themselves as part of a wider revolutionary movement dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism. They claimed to be collaborating with some Palestinian groups and threatened to intensify attacks against Turkish targets. At a joint Press conference held in Sidon, Lebanon, on 7 April 1980, representatives of ASALA and the Kurdistan Workers' Party told newsmen that they intended to cooperate in attacks on the Turkish Government, and the Armenians claimed that they had moved their operations into Turkey. But future targets are unlikely to be exclusively Turkish. Soviet targets have recently been attacked and even countries with no obvious direct involvement may be vulnerable. On 24 April, the date on which the 1915 massacres are usually commemorated, the annual demonstration outside the Turkish Embassy in Paris was also used to demand the liberation of Max Kilndjian, who had been arrested by the French police for questioning in connexion with the attempt to murder the Turkish Ambassador in Berne on 6 February 1980. He had earlier been identified as a suspect by the Swiss authorities. On 18 February, when a bomb exploded outside the Swissair office in Rome, responsibility was claimed by ASALA who asserted that the attack had been a final warning to the Swiss Government not to imprison innocent Armenians.

Soviet Armenia

The present Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic covers approximately 10 per cent of the territory traditionally ascribed to Greater Armenia. The 1979 Soviet census revealed 4,151,000 Armenians in the USSR, with 2,725,000 of them in the Armenian SSR. In the 1930s the Soviet Government tried to make Armenia something of a show place and, after 1945, successfully encouraged many Armenians to go to live there with promises of special concessions and privileges. Many of those who emigrated to the USSR were, however, subsequently disillusioned, and in recent years small numbers have been allowed to leave again. Armenians living elsewhere are divided between those who are almost as opposed to the Soviet Union as to Turkey, and those who still see Soviet Armenia as the main hope of preserving their national identity in the 20th century. The nationalist movement inside Soviet Armenia has in general eschewed violence and tried to appear moderate. However, in January 1977 bombs exploded in Moscow, one causing deaths, and subsequently three Armenians, including Stepan Zatikyan, known to be associated with the Armenian nationalist National Unification Party (NOP), were tried and executed.

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CHRONOLOGY OF INCIDENTS

1975

20 February

Bomb at Turkish Airlines' Beirut office; responsibility claimed by the "Prisoner Korkin Balikyan Groups", said to be Armenians struggling against the imperialists, with Turkey, Iran and the United States as their targets. Another report mentioned the Armenian Secret Army. /Korkin Balikyan was a deranged American-Armenian who killed the Turkish Consul and Vice-Consul in Los Angeles in January 1973/.

22 October

Danis Tunaligil, the Turkish Ambassador to Austria, assassinated in Vienna; responsibility claimed by the Armenian Liberation Movement.

24 October

Lebanon *Daily Star* reported the distribution in Beirut of a leaflet announcing the formation of an Armenian Secret Army created by Armenian "revolutionary youth", functioning independently of other Armenian bodies.

Ismail Erez, the Turkish Ambassador to France, and his driver shot dead in Paris; according to Western news agency reports, both the Vienna and the Paris murders were the work of the National Front for the Liberation of Armenia.

1976

16 February

Oktar Cirit, First Secretary at the Turkish Embassy in Beirut, shot dead by the Armenian Secret Liberation Army which, according to the Beirut left-wing newspaper *Al Moharrer*, had described him as a Turkish intelligence agent in touch with "Zionist-imperialist intelligence services". /The Turkish Foreign Minister, Mr Caglayanil, said he believed the murder was linked with the Ambassadors' murders in 1975./

17 February

Car of the Turkish Ambassador to the Lebanon machine-gunned in Beirut; its driver was wounded but the other occupant was unhurt. There were conflicting reports, but Reuter reported that it was the work of the Armenian Secret Liberation Army.

27 May

Unknown man killed at the *Maison de la Culture d'Armenie* in Paris by an explosive device which he may have been activating; pamphlets signed by the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide were found.

1977

April

ASALA, in a communiqué published by the "general revolutionary command of Armenia", threatened that from 10 April it would attack any Turkish institution within its striking limits". It warned that unless foreign governments "lift the protection this far afforded" to Turks and Turkish property, they would be "held responsible for the innocent victims within their own personnel". It boasted that the Secret Army had already "successfully carried out ... the operations in Santa Barbara (California), Vienna, Paris and Beirut", as well as in Turkey.

15 May

Bomb exploded at the Turkish tourist office in Paris, injuring one person.

29 May

Bomb explosion at Istanbul airport; five people died.

9 June

Taha Karim, Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican, shot dead outside his home. In Beirut, the Armenian Genocide Organisation claimed responsibility.

1978

3 January

Bombs at the Turkish Bank in Haringey, London, and at the finance section of the Turkish Embassy, Brussels, were claimed by the New Armenian Resistance. A telephone call in Brussels claimed the bomb was "to show the fascist Turkish State and Western imperialism the undeniable right of the Armenian people to exist".

3 June

Wife of the Turkish Ambassador to Madrid, her brother, and a chauffeur were shot dead. The local office of the French news agency received an anonymous telephone call claiming responsibility for the "Commandos seeking Justice for Genocide in Armenia".

9 November

ASALA representatives at a Press conference in Beirut claimed that, although their basic aim remains an independent Armenia, they are part of a wider revolutionary movement. They claimed to be collaborating with some Palestinian groups and threatened to escalate attacks against Turkish targets.

December

Bomb at the Turkish Consulate in Geneva was followed two weeks later by a bomb at the Turkish Airlines' office in Geneva, allegedly by the Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia and the New Armenian Resistance.

1979

- 8 July Bombs exploded at the Turkish Embassy Labour Office in Paris; at the Turkish Tourist Office in the Champs Elysées and at the Turkish Airlines' office, allegedly the work of the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide.
- 22 August Bomb explosion in Geneva, apparently aimed at the Turkish Consulate, allegedly the work of Armenian Liberation Army.
- 26 August Bomb at the Turkish Airlines' ticket office in Frankfurt; no casualties, but the office was completely destroyed.
- 29 September Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia in Beirut claimed that it was responsible for two explosions in the transit lounge of Esenboga airport in Ankara: a telephone call had alerted the Turkish authorities and the bombs were disarmed before they could explode.
- 4 October Turkish Airlines' office in Copenhagen bombed (second unexploded bomb found nearby with a note from the Armenian Secret Army for a Free Armenia claiming responsibility).
- 12 October Ahmet Benler, son of the Turkish Ambassador to the Netherlands, shot dead in The Hague; the killing was said to be the work of the Justice Commandos against Genocide of Armenians.
- 18 November Three bombs exploded in Paris at the offices of Turkish Airlines, KLM and Lufthansa. The Armenian Secret Liberation Army admitted responsibility, claiming that the airlines supported "Turkish fascism".
- 25-26 November Bomb explosions at Sabena, TWA and British Airways offices in Madrid (fourth bomb at the Alitalia office was defused), allegedly the work of the Secret Army for Armenian Liberation.
- 9 December Two bombs exploded in Rome, one outside the British Airways' office, injuring nine people, two seriously; responsibility claimed by the New Armenian Resistance Movement as "part of our struggle against fascism in Turkey and imperialism in the world".
- 17 December Bomb exploded at Turkish Airlines' office in Hanover Street, London; the Front for the Liberation of Armenia claimed responsibility.
- 22 December Yilmaz Kolpan, Turkish Embassy Press Attaché, shot dead in Paris; the Commando of Armenian Avengers claimed responsibility (and also claimed to be behind recent attacks in Rome, Madrid and The Hague).
- Bomb exploded at the Turkish Airlines' office in Amsterdam, causing no injuries.

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1980

- 1 February Bombs damaged a Soviet Embassy annex in Paris and Soviet and Turkish airline offices in Brussels; responsibility claimed by the New Armenian Resistance Group. The attacks were intended to mark the announcement on 30 January 1979 that three Armenians had been executed for a bomb attack in the Moscow Metro two years previously.
- 6 February Dogan Turkmen, the Turkish Ambassador in Berne, slightly injured by shots fired at his car; group claiming revenge for the Genocide of Armenia said one of its "commandos" was responsible.
- 18 February Two bombs exploded at Turkish Airlines' office in Rome; allegedly the work of the Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia.
- 10 March An anonymous Armenian group claimed responsibility for two explosions at the Turkish Airlines' office and the Turkish tourist office in Rome (two people died, 15 were injured).
- 17 April Vecdi Tverel, Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican, and his bodyguard injured in an ambush in Rome.